2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

462 appeared to be very uneasy and non-plussed and begged
562 me to return at once to the hut, as people might see me working there and say many bad things afterward. I very soon found that she scented Mrs. Grundy and so cleared off post haste. I found out later that what the chief had told me about gardening being the woman's privilege was quite true then, though it is not so at the present day, for I am now writing of what I found to be the case 50 years ago. The only garden I ever saw Penri himself working in was a tiny piece of ground in
[277] which he had planted a few tobacco roots, the leaves of which were to be dried for his own private consumption.

●512 In the busy spring time the women used to crawl
562 out of their sleeping places in the small hours of the morning, eat a hasty meal of cold vegetable stew, shoulder their tools and proceed to their gardens to chop and hack their plots and sow their seeds. Late at night they would return carrying big bundles of wood on their backs, do what there was to be done in the house, fetch the water (in this I was allowed to help), cook a big meal, eat it and then lie down to sleep. And what I have sometimes seen them eat was fabulous in-
[264] deed. When they had eaten as much as they were able to find room for, I have heard them exclaim with a great deal of relief and satisfaction, *Ibe-acramu-shinne*, and this means, "I am in a state of knowing that I have eaten." And truly they looked like it with their smiling faces and well filled out stomachs. It may be also men-
117 tioned here that in many instances I have known the people to go off to their plots of land, where they built themselves small lodges and stayed till their work was done. When Mrs. Penri did this, I cooked and catered for myself, and I made some very fine hashes. Would that I had some of my best friends to help eat them! I once made a stew of wood-peckers, as there was nothing else to be found. But when I took

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

them out of the pot and saw their very long tongues, my appetite departed and I threw the whole lot away. The tongues seemed so unduly long, and round. "Ugh"!

During the summer months the women had perhaps not quite so much to do; still, there was plenty to take up their time. There was the weeding to be attended to in the hot sun; bark to be prepared for manufacturing into cloth; thread to be twisted and weaving to be done; also mats to be made. But as soon as the autumn came round, the millet crops had to be quickly reaped, beans gathered in, turnips and carrots to be pulled and the potatoes to be dug up. The mode of reaping millet was very primitive indeed, for the tool used belonged to the shell and stone age. It consisted in merely walking through the gardens and pinching off each head with a small shell, leaving the straw standing. A little later the women and children would go into the mountains to pick up chestnuts, which are used largely for food, and gather the wild grapes. About this time they also dug up arrow-root (*Lilium Glenni*). After washing and boiling well, the arrow-root is mashed up into pulp, which is made into cakes and dried in the sun for winter food.

These people had no agricultural implements to speak of and they did not manure their gardens. We once had an old man in to do up our bit of garden, whom I asked to spread some manure on the ground he was digging up, for I told him that would enrich the soil. He stared at me and said he would not do so. When I accused him of idleness he told me that I was very unjust. "How so?" I asked him. Said he, "you profess to be a teacher of religion, Sir; yet you would have me dishonour and insult the gods by offering them manure! Will they not of their own free will give you the increase they intend you to have? Do you think you can force their hands? Let the gods do as they will!" I really thought the old man was joking. But

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

The other contrivance in Ainu huts which strikes one as being simple but clever is the hook suspended over the fire. The rope is passed over a rafter. One end of it is fastened to the hook, the other, as shown in the illustration, to a piece of wood through which the hook has previously been passed.

ROASTING HOOK.

Mat-making is closely allied to weaving, and is worked entirely on the same principle, but without the aid of any kind of machinery. The bulrushes are crossed and woven coarsely, and plaited flat. One of these mats is used in Ainu huts as a door—"the *Apa Otki*." A smaller one is hung over or by the window.

Naturally, Ainu huts are somewhat draughty The imperfectness of the door and window-fittings, the large outlet for the smoke, besides the wind which finds its way through the thatched walls, make Ainu dwellings "ideal" to anyone wishing to "catch his death of cold." The Ainu do not much mind it.

The roof is low, and from it hang the winter provisions of dried salmon captured during the autumn. This gives an additional odour to the already strong scent of the hut—an "ancient fish-like smell," not redolent of the perfumes of Arabia. The smoke inside the hut is so dense when there happens to be a fire burning that one's eyes stream with involuntary tears, and one is nearly choked. When the days are short in winter the Ainu sometimes light their dwellings with a stick to which is fastened a piece of animal fat. It is hung up aloft, and when the lower end is lighted the fat slowly melting serves to feed the flame and keep this primitive lamp alight. Another mode of illumination is by firing a lighted piece of birch bark on a stick previously split at the upper end. The third way is by filling a large shell with fish-oil and burning in it a few strings of elm-fibre. None of these methods come much into use for everyday life, as, unlike the negroes, the Ainu are not fond of sitting up at night, except on extraordinary occasions; and when by chance they do sit up it is by the light of the fire only.

If a stranger stops for the night in an Ainu hut, he is made to sleep directly under the east window; but the family take good care to sleep all together on the north side, which is the

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

the old year. But the revival of desire for anything fresh drove them forth to fishing as well as hunting and collecting. Nevertheless, it was not until the coming of cherry salmon that they went into any intensive fishing activity. Nor did the total amount of catch in this period come to so much as might be stored away for any great length of time. The major species of fish taken in this period were *chirai*, Hucho perryi, *supun*, Tribolodon spp., and *kabachep*, Cottus spp.

The large Hucho which appeared first with the thaw in the rivers, were speared with the *marek* usually in tributaries where water was clearer (p. 54). With the coming of the season, at least in Nitmap on the upper Tokapchi, the headman went every day to a prescribed spot on the Sahorun, a tributary of the Tokapchi, to watch for the arrival of the first fish (Note 62).

For catching the *supun* the basket trap, *urai*, was used in the main stream and/or tributaries, and the small bag-net was manipulated by two operators usually in streamlets. Although the bullhead or *kabachep* could be found all the year round, it was captured with the small bag-net only in early spring when few other varieties were to be had. The Ainu seldom stayed out overnight fishing these varieties. Attention should be drawn to the fact that the Ainu, at least in Tokapchi and Otopuke, treated Hucho perryi and even Tribolodon with some ritual as for dog salmon and cherry salmon (Note 62).

Cherry Salmon Fishing.

The cherry salmon, *ichaniu* or *ichanui*, Oncorhynchus masou[26], was one of the major food supplies of the Ainu. Ecology and ethology of the salmon related to Ainu fishing habits are summerized in Note 26. With ceartin[1] difference in time in different rivers and in the upper and lower courses of the same river, the runs of the salmon began in the upper Tokapchi and the Otopuke in *shimauta chup* or around July; in the Azuma in July or August (p. 70). When the fish were ready to appear in the river near their own settlement, the Ainu observed a pre-fishing ritual at a prescribed spot on the bank of the river along which their settlements were situated (Note 62). The function was one of the major events in the whole cycle of their seasonal activities, for it marked the opening of a new season devoted to fishing. Indeed, from then to autumn no regular hunting was undertaken. After the observance of the ritual they immediately set up a sort of weir, *tesh*, in the river close to the site of the ritual. The ritual and the weir fishing were carried out by the cooperative group of families (p. 43). The weir was used effectively during the night when the runs became active. To catch asscending shoals those groups living downstream on the deeper and broader watercourses usually employed the trawling-net, *yash ya*, which they operated from a pair of dugouts at night. While at weir-fishing every night, they took a nap and rest by turns in the hut built by their weir.

1. [Errata: the word "ceartin" should read "certain"--Analyst]

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

226 nap and rest by turns in the hut built by their weir. Every morning they
512 returned to the settlement to take their catch home. It is the habit of the salmon to lurk inactive during the day in a pool or under a drifted tree root. Before the land was cleared and the the rivers were improved there was a great amount of drift-wood in every watercourse. The Ainu went about in search of such places by day, spearing hiding fish with the *marek*. Fish that [462] were missed or driven out were captured by partners, usually females, using the bag-net, *yaroshiki ya*.

226 Around August the salmon began to run up into small tributaries or glens
221 for spawning. In this period, the automatic basket-trap, *urai*, was set at the mouth of a glen to catch fish coming downstream after spawning, while fishing in the main stream went on.

226 The Ainu of the Azuma and the Otopuke valleys remained all through
221 the season at their settlements, fishing only in the neighbouring streams. But
184 the local groups on the upper Tokapchi migrated every August to a tributary of the Tokapchi, the Sahorun, when the salmon had already run up to its upper reaches (Map 2). The daily cycle of the fishing here was a little different from that in the main stream: in the Sahorun, no peep-fishing was practised, while the basket-trap was used to catch fish descending from a glen after spawning. They formed cooperative groups (p. 43, the chart) to stay, till the end of September, at fishing-huts set up along the tributary. The detail will be given in pp. 47 and 52.

226 In September when the rivers swollen with melted snow receded and the
221 water became clear, each family built a dark-hut or peep-hut, *worun chise*, in the main stream near their settlement. In this season runs became more brisk. [462] It was the older male Ainu who speared salmon with the *marek* in the peep-hut towards evening and in early morning when there were active runs. The hut built at this time was successively used even in dog salmon fishing. The [184] Azuma Ainu, however, did not practice the peep-hut fishing at all.

Cherry salmon fishing continued till dog salmon fishing began.

Dog Salmon Fishing.

The rivers in Hokkaido used to be, and still are ascended by dog salmon, Oncorhynchus keta, from around September till December or January, though strictly speaking, the running period of the salmon varies to some extent in different years and in different rivers and on the upper and the lower stretches [132] in the same rivers (Oya, 1957). During the period of base snow which covers [251] the entire island, the Ainu had to live on stored provisions consisting chiefly [262] of dried dog salmon and venison. The amount of the salmon, which arrived immediately before their wintering season had a profound effect on the subsistence and daily life of the Ainu[27].

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

226 Peep-fishing proved most effective at hours before sunset when the fish re-
221 sumed their active ascent and again at daybreak before they became inactive
● 512 and went into hiding. In the daytime the speagers went round to spear salmon hiding in the bank-side deeps and under drift-wood. The basket-trap, the main fishing-gear for Ainu females, did not work with any efficiency until salmon started spawning. The use of the bag-net was tabooed till the latter part of the dog-salmon season, i.e. *meorun chep* season (Note 30). When spawning began in the spawning grounds near their own settlement, the Ainu started spearing the fish at the spawning grounds at sunset and in early morning. It will be seen from the ichthyological data in Note 28 that all the spawning and ascending activities of the fish usually become brisk at night between sundown and daybreak. The basket-trap, an automatic device, was set effectively to catch fish moving up and down around the spawning grounds, while in daytime fishing, spearing salmon in hiding was the only productive technique. In the earliest phase of the breeding season, i.e. before heavy spawning set in, peep-fishing in the running course still played a more im-
[562] portant part than spearing at and around the spawning grounds. In the upper Tokapchi women were prohibited to use the spear, *marek*, in this phase. In either of the Tokapchi, the Otopuke and the Azuma, heavy spawning was interrupted by a fall in the runs with mostly spawned fish remaining in the rivers and few fresh salmon to spawn—a period of several days. This period of falling off, however, was again followed by another of fresh runs. The arrival of fresh-run salmon seems to have been correlated roughly to the appearance of snow-ice lumps, *mompe*, in either of the Tokapchi, the Otopuke and the Azuma as well as the Mukawa and the Saru. These later runs, to be regarded as 'silvery salmon' which ascend late in the Oncorhynchus keta season in Hokkaido, were distinguished by the Ainu as *meorun chep* or *mata chep* from the earlier one[*]. The *meorun chep* did not run so far upstream as the earlier groups but spawned in the same areas. The Ainu used, besides the same devices, torchlights and bag-nets which were prohibited for the
[184] earlier runs. The prohibition of the use of both these devices was verified only in Tokapchi, Otopuke and Azuma; that of torchlights alone is detectable among the natives of Mukawa and Saru, whereas the exclusive use of torchlights for the later runs is found among the Shikot Ainu. On the arrival of the *meorun chep* season all the Ainu began spearing salmon at night by torchlight. The method was employed most effectively, and therefore mainly, for fishing in spawning grounds, though it was also the one for running fish.
[462] In the daytime women came out to take part in bag-net fishing in combination with spearing by men in hidings of the fish. During this cold season the older males were occupid in catching running salmon mostly in peep-huts.
226 At the end of *meorun chep* spawning in the areas controlled by each group,
221 1/1. [Errata: the word "occupid" should read "occupied"--Analyst]

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

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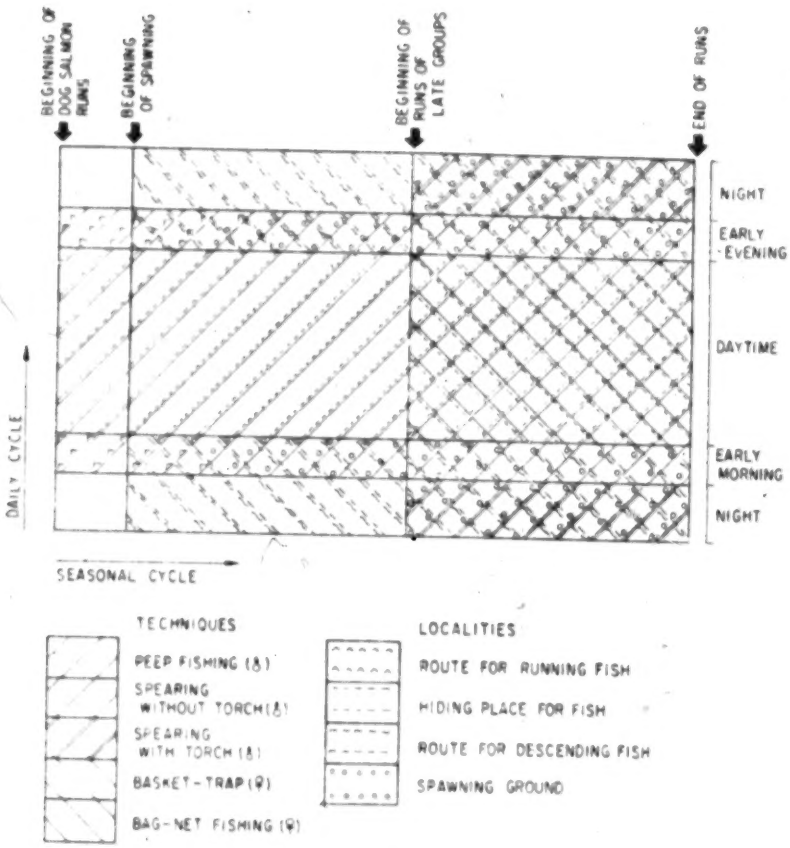

Fig. 4. Daily and seasonal cycles in dog salmon fishing.

a post-run ritual was performed to mark the close of dog-salmon fishing, 226
although for some time afterwards some lingering fish might be picked up. 221
The end of dog-salmon runs or their entire disappearance came earlier on the upper stretches of a river than in the lower. However, all the local groups, those on the Tokapchi, the Otopuke and the Azuma at least, ceased to fish dog-salmon, with some variation, in December. Salmon caught in [251]
December were made into a sort of frozen fish, *ruibe*; but these were not at all many. The greater part of the dog-salmon needed by the natives were fished during October and November, being sun-dried for storing.

As shown in the previous description of the fishing gear and Figures 3 226
182

[p.133]

IV

159 592 224 41 Information concerning member families of Nitmap local group and co-operative activities among them.

Shiokoro and his family.—Shiokoro was an old man; he no longer went hunting bears himself, because his sons had all grown enough to do that for him and themselves. Nor did old Shiokoro play an active part in deer-hunting as did his younger brothers and his sons. All his sons were good bear-hunters, Itomochara, the second, being the best. As some of them were every year [466] [648] drafted in service at some Japanese fishing grounds on the sea-coast from about May to early October and soon after their return went for bear hunting, deer-hunting on the fields was operated by the remaining male hands with their home as base, so as to carry on dog-salmon fishing side by side. Their deer-fence was accordingly built within half a mile of their settlement, on a level hill on the way to Shintoku on a smaller scale. But after their return from bear hunt they went for deer-hunting in the hills and got sufficient amount of deer. The children being all grown up, Shiokoro and his family built their own cherry-salmon weirs in the main stream and the glens.

Shurunke and his family.—Shurunke, a traditional headman of a *kotan* and formerly a great bear-hunter, was now too old to go hunting the beast. But his eldest son Sankur was one of the best bear-hunters of Nitmap and his second, Usareta, was another fine hunter. The third and the fourth, though always following their brothers on bear-hunting expeditions, had never killed a bear themselves yet. Sankur, like Shiokoro's sons, had to be away during summer for service at the coast; immediately on his return home he entered mountains to chase bears. Deer hunts in autumn fell largely on Shurunke and his son Usareta, who like Shiokaro's family set up their deer-fence less than a mile and a half from their settlement, on a level height on the way to Pekerepet, and there chased deer of the plain. Their daily routine was • [512] to go round the fence during the morning and bring back spoils killed with hand-bows, spending the rest of the day in catching dog-salmon. In spring Sankur and Usareta always went together for bear-hunts; in autumn Sankur alone went because there were deer-hunting and dog-salmon fishing going on concurrently which needed hands. The building and use of the cherry-salmon weir in the main stream was a joint enterprise with the families of Shukemon, Kapkotuk and Osareainu; for the cherry salmon weir and the fishing hut on the glen they cooperated with the two families of Shukemon and Osareainu.